

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF FRANCO-AMERICAN LIFE, LANGUAGE, AND HISTORY

IN THE NORTHEASTERN UNITED STATES



PATRICK LACROIX

Cover: Sculpture by Christopher Gowell dedicated at Le Parc de Notre Renaissance Française in Nashua, N.H., in 2001.

Back: Statue of Ferdinand Gagnon, “Father of the Franco-American Press,” at Lafayette Park, Manchester, N.H.

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IN THE NORTHEASTERN UNITED STATES

Compiled and Distributed

by

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Introduction

Franco-American History in Brief

There is no obvious starting point to the history of Franco-Americans. French Huguenots found refuge in the Thirteen Colonies and other migrants from metropolitan France came to the United States during and in the wake of the American Revolution. This bibliography, as with much of the field of Franco-American studies, is concerned with the more sizable migration of French-heritage people from Canada to the United States. In this regard, scholars might begin with the Acadians who were forcibly relocated to the Thirteen Colonies beginning in 1755, or with the *Canadiens* who served in the Continental Army and settled in northern New York in the aftermath of the Revolutionary War. Both of these movements of population resulted from the specific and limited circumstances of wartime. Political allegiance, real or alleged, determined the fate of thousands who, in the context of Anglo-Saxon political ascendancy, were set apart by their cultural identity.

In the 1820s, economic conditions in Lower Canada began to fuel a migration that would persist with few interruptions well into the twentieth century. The United States again served as a political refuge with the failure of the Canadian Rebellions in 1837-1838, but it was deeper structural forces that led to the outmigration of French Canadians and Acadians from their colonial homelands. In the St. Lawrence River valley, demographic growth and an incipient agricultural crisis naturally pushed people outwardly, into the Eastern Townships for instance but also across a border that was still in many respects imaginary. Men sought seasonal work south of the border as farm hands in northern New York and Vermont and as loggers in Maine. Seasonal work gradually led to the transplantation of Canadian families and, through chain migration, of entire communities. Following the U.S. Civil War, rapid industrial growth in New England cities—accessible through an expanding network of rail lines—definitively altered the image of the migrant. French-speaking families clustered in ethnic neighborhoods, often termed *colonies*, and joined the industrial workforce in Woonsocket, Rhode Island; Fall River and Worcester, Massachusetts; in the factory towns of the Merrimack River valley; in Biddeford and Lewiston, Maine; and in countless other locales. In these cities, they established “national” Catholic parishes, patronized their countrymen’s businesses, and developed a rich cultural life that often centered on the local *société Saint-Jean-Baptiste*.

Many families expected their life in the United States to be a brief sojourn: they would ultimately return to the farms and villages of Canada, American wages in hand. Such was certainly the hope of the political and religious authorities of their home country, who encouraged repatriation. But as “Canadian” institutions developed on American soil, these families became increasingly settled. By virtue of their numbers and urban concentration, their distinct identity was preserved for generations. At the same time, the scale of their migratory movement proved disruptive. Like the Irish before them, French Canadians and Acadians felt the force of American nativist sentiments. Even after the Great Depression put an end to the *grande saignée*, Canada’s demographic hemorrhage, French speakers throughout New England faced marginalization and discrimination. Cultural adversity encouraged assimilation. Following the Second World War, so did suburbanization, gradual estrangement from the Catholic Church and the closure of national parishes, and increased social mobility. At last, there was no new wave of expatriates to replenish Little Canadas and reinvigorate the distinct culture of Franco-Americans.

Assimilation has easily lent itself to a narrative of cultural decline. But a resurgent interest in the experience of “white ethnics” in the 1970s facilitated the creation of new Franco-American associations, research institutions, and periodicals. State governments have embraced their local connection to the Francophonie and today many of them honor Franco-Americans annually in March and June. Although proportionally few Americans of French-Canadian and Acadian descent speak French at the dawn of the twenty-first century, more than ever they are enjoying the promise that their ancestors had sought in the United States.

Evolution and State of the Field

The outmigration of Canadians prior to the Civil War was noticed by such prominent observers as Lord Durham, the Governor General of Canada, and Henry David Thoreau. It received little sustained attention however. In the 1870s, the migration of hundreds of thousands of French Canadians and Acadians to industrial centers in New England and New York elicited close scrutiny from the host society, Canadian religious leaders and public officials, and emerging Franco-American elites. Since then, analytical writing concerning Canadian emigration and Franco-American life has evolved through four distinct phases.

During the era of mass migration from Canada, “old-stock” Americans observers assessed the opportunities and, more commonly, the threats posed by the influx of French-speaking Catholics from the north. They pored over the numbers and emphasized the clash of values and institutions that inevitably derived from mass immigration. Their work often conveyed the fears of Anglo-Saxon Protestants whose way of life—and racial ascendancy—seemed endangered. In the same period, Franco-American editors and community leaders penned meticulously descriptive works that asserted their desire to live freely under republican institutions. They also expressed their commitment to the idea of *survivance*. Franco-American almanacs, histories, and other studies reflected the Catholic identity of the majority as well as elites’ cultural combativeness. They made it their duty to preserve the French tongue and French customs in this foreign land. Quebec newspapers and magazines analyzed the migration but also regularly relayed news from the Little Canadas. More substantive and often more cautious works were printed in Montreal.

As the Great Depression rocked Canada and the United States, the lure of American factories vanished and the legal context of cross-border migration changed. While acculturation made inroads, the literature on Franco-American life took two distinct paths. Franco-American community leaders penned commemorative works often revolving around their Catholic heritage. At the same time, university theses, articles in scholarly journals, and other, larger studies attested to growing sociological interest in Franco-Americans. Researchers, including antiquarians, increasingly turned their focus to this group’s idiom and its place in the course of Canada–U.S. relations, for instance. The emergence of continental history in the 1930s and 1940s had great bearing on this line of research. It is noteworthy that much of the scholarship to appear in French in this period was the work of Canadians, not Franco-Americans. Historical research reached an important watershed with the publication of Robert Rumilly’s *Histoire des Franco-Américains* in 1958, the most exhaustive survey yet to appear in the field.

Ralph D. Vicero’s dissertation at the University of Wisconsin, completed in 1968, announced a new phase, closely tied to larger developments in American and Canadian historical research. From 1968 to 1980, fourteen Ph.D. dissertations with Franco-Americans as their chief protagonists were completed in American universities. Access to government funding, the rise of new research institutions, and a revival of pride in French-Canadian culture encouraged new concern for the Franco-American identity. Archival, sociological, literary, and linguistic research accelerated. The annual colloquia of the Institut français at Assumption College and other forums enabled scholars from both sides of the border to share questions and findings. By the early 1990s, intensive research had resulted in historical surveys by Gerard J. Brault, François Weil, Yves Roby, and Armand Chartier. Other major works appeared in the subsequent decade. Even as Quebec universities began producing the majority of theses and dissertations, American research revealed sustained and coherent lines of inquiry.

In the last twenty years, the state of research has proven more difficult to discern. Some of the most distinguished figures in Franco-American studies became less active (Claire Quintal), pursued other interests (Pierre Anctil), or altogether retired (Yves Roby). As the Institut français’s conferences came to an end, researchers turned to broader forums, including the Institut d’histoire de l’Amérique française and the American Council for Quebec Studies. Still, recently, innovative studies have introduced gendered and comparative perspectives and nuanced longstanding narratives. If the works of the last two decades seem disparate, with less discernible axes of inquiry, research continues to appear in print at a rate not far behind the apparent heyday of the 1970, 1980s, and 1990s.

While this bibliography offers no research agenda, some gaps in the field of Franco-American studies are manifest from a perusal of its content. First, the French Canadians and Acadians who settled in the United States' geographical margins, from Clinton County, New York, through Berlin, in northern New Hampshire, to Maine's peripheries, are similarly relegated to the margins of research. The rise of borderland studies provides an opportunity to better understand these migrants' distinctive economic and cultural experience. Second, beyond clergymen and newspaper editors, little has appeared concerning Franco-American professionals and businessmen. The process by which migrants and their descendants earned the economic and cultural capital needed for upward mobility remains poorly defined. Similarly, the process of integration that operated in most communities in the decades after the Second World War requires further study. And, third, scholars are still confronted with the task of (1) setting their findings in conversation with the experience of other cultural communities and (2) asserting the relevance of Franco-American studies to larger narratives concerning American history, culture, and national life.

Scope

Works listed below consider the migration, integration, economic and social life, culture, religion, and language of French Canadians and Acadians who settled, permanently or not, in New England and New York State and of their Franco-American descendants. Beginning in the colonial period, individuals and families from both of these groups also migrated to the Midwest, the Plains region, and beyond. Louisiana became a bastion of Acadian life and culture. The implied contention of this bibliography, by virtue of its scope, is that the Franco-American experience elsewhere in the United States differed substantially from that seen in New England and New York. A brief survey of studies on other regions of the country—with no pretense of comprehensiveness—appears in Appendix A with other works that may prove relevant in the study of Franco-Americans.

With the exception of the section on audiovisual materials, works listed here are of four kinds: monographs; memoirs and published oral histories; book chapters and scholarly articles; and government reports. Some biographies are included, but researchers may want to look beyond this bibliography for information on Quebec-born individuals who lived in the United States relatively briefly (Olivar Asselin, Honoré Beaugrand) or on Franco-Americans whose fame transcended their ethnic community (William Aubuchon, Louis Cyr, Leo Durocher, Jack Kerouac, Nap Lajoie, Calixa Lavallée, Grace Metalious, Aram Pothier). There is also significant context to be gleaned from local, state, and regional studies, thematic works, and historical surveys of Quebec and Atlantic Canada, though, when such works discuss Franco-Americans, they often rely on the scholarship listed in the present document. Articles in newspapers and popular magazines do not appear below for the simple reason that a bibliography of such articles would require time, energy, and means beyond those permitted by the current project. Fortunately, as digital databases expand it is quickly becoming easier to locate and access full-text periodical articles. In any event, this bibliography is meant as a literature review that helps researchers situate their work on Franco-Americans within a larger conversation, not as an exhaustive list of primary documents. Further guidance is to be found in the listed works' bibliographies and in the resources that appear in Appendix B.

Generally, new editions of a monograph or article do not appear unless it has been substantially revised or expanded, or unless it has been translated. In some cases, when the original edition is no longer available, the work appears under the year in which it was reissued. Thesis and dissertation advisors are named when the information has been readily available.

This is not the first attempt at an extensive bibliography of works on Franco-Americans in the American Northeast. Pierre Anctil published just such a compendium in 1979, but after nearly forty years of sustained research, the need for a similar, more up-to-date effort is apparent. The Franco-American Centre at the University of Maine hosts, it is true, an online bibliography. The present effort distinguishes itself by its format and structure and can still be searched by keyword in its digital form.

About the Compiler

Patrick Lacroix is a native of Cowansville, Quebec, and a graduate of Bishop's University (Sherbrooke, Quebec) and Brock University (St. Catharines, Ontario). After working as a journalist, he taught at the University of New Hampshire, where he earned a Ph.D. in history, and at Phillips Exeter Academy. Beyond his work on Franco-Americans, his research has appeared in *Histoire sociale/Social History*, the *Canadian Journal of History*, the *International History Review*, and the *American Review of Canadian Studies*.

Contemporary Assessments of the *Grande saignée* (1849-1930)

- 1849 *Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Assembly, Appointed to Inquire into the Causes and Importance of the Emigration Which Takes Place Annually, from Lower Canada to the United States.* Montreal: Rollo Campbell.
- 1851 NELLIGAN, J., *et al.* *Le Canadien Emigrant ou Pourquoi le Canadien-Français quitte-t-il le Bas-Canada?* Quebec City: Imprimerie Côté et Cie.
- 1857 *Rapport du comité spécial nommé pour s'enquérir des causes de l'émigration du Canada aux Etats-Unis d'Amérique ou ailleurs.* Toronto: John Lovell.
- 1859 RAMEAU DE SAINT-PERE, Edmé. *La France aux colonies : Etudes sur le développement de la race française hors de l'Europe – Les Français en Amérique : Acadiens et Canadiens.* Paris: A. Jouby.
- 1872 CHANDONNET, Thomas Aimé. *Notre-Dame-des-Canadiens et les Canadiens aux Etats-Unis.* Montreal: George E. Desbarats.
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 - “Citizenship,” pp. 93-191.
 - “Fall River, Lowell, and Lawrence,” pp. 193-415.
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- 1887 LAPORTE, Stanislas. *L'héritage des Canadiens-français aux Etats-Unis, ou Notre foi prouvée et défendue*. Montreal: Imprimerie de l'Institution des Sourds-Muets.
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- 1888 DUBUQUE, Hugo A. *Le Guide canadien-français [ou Almanach des adresses] de Fall River, et notes historiques sur les Canadiens de Fall River*. Fall River: Edmond-F. Lamoureux.
- 1889 *Le Clergé national : articles et extraits des journaux canadiens-français des Etats-Unis depuis Novembre 1888 à mars 1889*. Worcester: Le Travailleur.
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- 1930 HAMELIN, Hormidas. *Lettre à mon ami sur la patrie sur la patrie, la langue et la question franco-américaine*. Montreal: Imprimerie de l'Institution des Sourds-Muets.

Mid-Century Studies (1931-1967)

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- 1980 *Bien des mots ont changé*. Directed and produced by Daniel Louis. Ballon Blanc.
- 1988 *Les Tisserands du pouvoir*. Directed by Claude Fournier. Produced by René Malo and Marie-José Raymond. Ciné Les Tisserands / Malofilm.
- 1988 *Les Tisserands du pouvoir 2 : La révolte*. Directed by Claude Fournier. Produced by René Malo and Marie-José Raymond. Ciné Les Tisserands / Malofilm.
- 1999 *Franco-Americans: We Remember*. Produced by New Hampshire Public Television.
- 2000 *Les 30 jours qui ont fait le Québec. Le 3 novembre 1908 : Un Québécois en exil devient gouverneur américain*. Directed by Jean Roy. Produced by Ronald Brault and Daniel Proulx. Eureka! Productions.
- 2004 *Réveil – Waking Up French. The Repression and Renaissance of the French in New England*. Directed and produced by Ben Levine. Watching Place Productions.
- 2013 *Louis Cyr*. Directed by Daniel Roby. Produced by Christian Larouche. Gaïa Films / Christal Films.
- 2013 *Un rêve américain*. Directed by Bruno Boulianne. Produced by Claude Godbout. Eureka! Productions.
- 2017 *The Home Road*. Directed and produced by Tonya Shevenell. Home Ice Productions.

Appendix

Other Works of Interest

Community studies

- 1846 NEWMAN, S. C. *A Numbering of the Inhabitants, Together with Statistical and Other Information Relative to Woonsocket, R.I.* Woonsocket: S. S. Foss.
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- 1969 ALBERT, Julie D. *Madawaska Centennial (1869-1969).* Madawaska: [n.p.].
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Fiction and Other Creative Writing

The selection below is not a definitive list of works by Franco-Americans, but rather a representative sample of works about Franco-American life. Much of Jack Kerouac's body of work bears the imprint of his heritage, but does not directly concern the Franco-American experience.

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- 1884 TREMBLAY, Rémi. *Un revenant*. Montreal: La Patrie.
- 1888 DUVAL-THIBAUT, Anna. *Les deux testaments*. Fall River: L'Indépendant.
- 1908 POTVIN, Damase. *Restons Chez Nous!* Quebec City: J. A. Guay.
- 1912 TREMBLAY, Rémi. *Vers l'idéal*. Ottawa: Imprimerie commerciale.
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- 1933 GASTONGUAY, Alberte. *La jeune franco-américaine*. Lewiston: Le Messenger.
- 1936 LESSARD-BISSONNETTE, Camille. *Canuck*. Lewiston: Le Messenger.
- 1938 PANNETON, Philippe (alias RINGUET). *Trente arpents*. Paris: Flammarion.
- 1939 DUCHARME, Jacques. *The Delusson Family: A Novel*. NYC: Funk and Wagnalls.
- 1941 PARSONS, Vivian. *Not Without Honor*. NYC: Dodd, Mead and Co.
- 1943 ARCHAMBAULT, Albéric A. *Mill Village: A Novel*. Boston: Bruce Humphries.
- 1946 BOUCHER, Georges A. *Chants du Nouveau Monde*. Brockton: [n.p.].
- 1950 KEROUAC, Jack. *The Town and the City*. NYC: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich.
- 1959 KEROUAC, Jack. *Dr. Sax*. NYC: Grove Press.
- 1961 ROBICHAUD, Gerard. *Papa Martel*. Garden City: Doubleday.
- 1962 MALOUIN, Reine. *Où chante la vie*. Quebec City: Editions de l'Action catholique.
- 1967 METALIOUS, Grace. *No Adam in Eden*. NYC: Trident Press.
- 1978 PLANTE, David. *The Family*. NYC: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
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- 1980 LAMBERT, Adélar. *L'innocente victime*. Bedford: National Materials Development Center. First published serially in 1936.

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- 1997 ROBBINS, Rhea Côté. *Wednesday's Child*. Brewer: Rheta Press.
- 2006 BEAUPRE, Normand. *La Souillonne*. Coral Springs: Llumina Press.
- 2011 ROY, Marguerite. *Aurore: My Franco-American Mother*. Published independently.
- 2016 ROBBINS, Rhea Côté. Editor. *Heliotrope: French Heritage Women Create*. Brewer: Rheta Press.

French Canadians in the Midwest and West

Among the French Canadians who lived for some time in the American Midwest and West are figures of consequence in the history of Canada, including Charles Chiniquy, Louis Fréchette, and Louis Riel, who have merited biographical treatment. But many other Franco-Americans achieved prominence in this region and the list below offers a glimpse of the crucial role they played, individually and collectively, in the development of the United States.

- 1861 RAMEAU DE SAINT-PERE, Edmé. *Notes historiques sur la colonie canadienne de Détroit*. Montreal: J. B. Rolland et Fils.
- 1878 TASSE, Joseph. *Les Canadiens de l'Ouest*. Montreal: Compagnie d'imprimerie canadienne.
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Popular Periodicals

The last two decades of the nineteenth century witnessed a tremendous outpouring of writing concerning the challenge of Franco-American migration. This brief list is provided to suggest what "old-stock" and Irish Americans were reading about the newcomers in popular periodicals.

- 1884 CHAMBERLAIN, Joseph Edgar. "The Foreign Elements in Our Population," *The Century; A Popular Quarterly*, 28-5, pp. 761-770.
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- 1889 BARTLETT, Albert L. "The Transformation of New England," *The Forum*, vol. 7 (August), pp. 634-644.
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Appendix B

Additional Resources

Research Material

In Canada, the most important center for primary-source research on the history of Franco-Americans is the Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec (BAnQ), which is home to the Elphège-J. Daignault, Rosaire Dion-Lévesque, and Robert Rumilly fonds. Its website offers free access to digitized Quebec newspapers, many of which proved very consistent in sharing news and opinion regarding emigration and Franco-American communities.

The University of Maine's Franco-American Centre in Orono has a physical library consisting chiefly of published material; it also hosts an online bibliography, the Franco American Library, which includes links to digital materials. The Centre provides access to issues of *Le Forum* (formerly *Le FAROG Forum*), which has appeared almost continuously since 1972. The University of Maine has issues of *Le Messenger*, Lewiston's defunct French-language newspaper, on microfilm. A library begun as the Centre d'héritage franco-américain in Lewiston, Maine, was transferred to the University of Southern Maine in 1989. There it became the Franco-American Collection and remains accessible. The Collection's holdings include oral histories, individual fonds, and rare publications.

St. Anselm College in Manchester, N.H., purchased the substantial library of the Association Canado-Américaine (ACA), which had recently ended its activities, in 2008. The ACA/Lambert Franco-American Collection has since been culled but still covers the entire range of Franco-American history. It holds issues of *Le Canado-Américain*, long published by the ACA, *La Vie franco-américaine*, and *La Revue franco-américaine*. At Assumption College in Worcester, Mass., the French Institute also houses a collection of documents from the ACA and issues of the *Bulletin de la Fédération féminine franco-américaine*. Among the Institute's other resources are the Félix Gatineau Collection, the Paul-P. Chassé Papers, various parish histories, and some newspapers.

Original material also lies in the Beaulieu, Santerre, and Franco-American newspaper collections at the Boston Public Library; the Richard Santerre Collection at the University of Massachusetts (Amherst); and the Papers of Anna Duval-Thibault at Harvard (the BAnQ has additional Duval-Thibault material). Harvard's Baker Library holds the business records of the Amoskeag Manufacturing Company (1831-1836) and many other industrial establishments that employed Francos in significant numbers. Some papers, including *Le Travailleur* and *l'Indépendant* are available on microfilm at the University of Vermont. Most Catholic dioceses have preserved the history of national parishes and correspondence between church leaders and the Franco-American community; in some locations, municipal archives feature property records and tax and voter rolls. Further information concerning local particularities may be gleaned at such institutions as the Winooski Historical Society at the Champlain Mill in Winooski, Vt., the Berlin and Coös County Historical Society in upstate New Hampshire, the Rhode Island Historical Society Library in Providence, and the Museum of Work and Culture in Woonsocket, R.I.

Web resources abound. The Quebec-based portal Erudit, similar to JStor, holds decades-worth of scholarship, especially journal articles. Numerous nineteenth- and early twentieth-century works that appear in this bibliography can be found on two databases, Archive.org and HathiTrust.org. The former notably has a great many issues of the *Bulletin de la Société historique franco-américaine*. By virtue of its census returns, vital and military records, and more, Ancestry.com remains one of the premier sources of raw data. Even amid funding constraints, many of the institutions mentioned above have begun digitizing primary-source material, including their own newsletters.

Cultural Resources

Across New England, supported by the French Consulate and the Quebec Government Office in Boston, organizations continue to host French-language activities and other events celebrating French-Canadian and Acadian heritage. Among them are the Franco-American Centre of New Hampshire (based on the campus of St. Anselm College), the Franco-American Centre in Orono, and the Gendron Franco Center in Lewiston. In Lowell, the Franco-American Day Committee organizes annual events in celebration of the Saint-Jean-Baptiste. The Lowell National Historical Park provides tours of former mills and tenements and contextualizes the Canadian migrants' urban experience in the United States. In Manchester, Roger Lacerte's Librairie Populaire carries a broad selection of French-language books, including some works on Franco-American history.

At last, genealogical societies are preserving the history of Franco-American families. Many organize events, publish bulletins, and offer members and visitors access to physical libraries and digital databases. They include: the American-Canadian Genealogical Society (Manchester), the American-French Genealogical Society (Woonsocket), the French-Canadian Genealogical Society of Connecticut (Tolland, Ct.), the Northern New York American-Canadian Genealogical Society (Dannemora, N.Y.), and the Vermont French-Canadian Genealogical Society (Colchester, Vt.).

